



CEPPS/NDI Quarterly Report: January 1st to March 30th, 2005

**INDONESIA: ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND PEACEFUL
POLITICAL TRANSITION**

**USAID Associate Cooperative Agreement No. 497-A-00-03-00023
under Leader Cooperative Agreement No. DGC-A-00-01-00004-00**

Project Dates: April 30, 2003 to April 30, 2005

I. SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), in partnership with the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) under the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS), is conducting a series of programs to support the development of transparent, accountable and inclusive electoral and political processes in Indonesia leading up to the 2004 elections and in the immediate post-election environment. Working with Indonesian political parties, national and regional legislatures, and civil society organizations, NDI's efforts aim to enable Indonesians to choose their new representatives and national leaders and support the peaceful and effective transfer of political power.

This quarter began with Indonesia reeling from the effects of the Asian tsunamis of December 26th, 2004. In the immediate aftermath, Indonesians were consumed with a humanitarian emergency of unparalleled proportions but have since moved on to the daunting task of rebuilding the affected regions of Aceh and North Sumatra.

In this reporting period, NDI continued to provide technical assistance and expert advice to legislators on institutional and political reforms. In addition, the institute has continued to monitor the progress of political parties as they prepared for post-election conventions and the electoral environment in the lead up to the direct election of hundreds of governors, mayors and regents beginning in June. The institute has continued to work to promote the participation of women in the political process through the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus (KPPI). Finally, as much as resources allowed, the institute has worked with partners to contribute to the reconstruction of Aceh and North Sumatra.

II. BACKGROUND

A. Political Context

The New Year dawned muted by the horror of the disaster that had struck the island of Sumatra barely a week before. The excitement of the previous year's democratic achievements had waned as Indonesia confronted the enormity of the job ahead. Simply burying the dead would take months. Hundreds of thousands of homeless and jobless people needed to be fed, housed and guarded from disease.

Fortunately, the response was immediate and overwhelming. Within the first days of the New Year, billions of dollars had been pledged by the international community and by Indonesian citizens for a relief effort that has seen no equal. The good news is that the effort worked in preventing thousands more from dying of starvation or disease. The compelling images of Indonesian and American military personnel working together with civilian volunteers to deliver food, clothing, medicine and shelter to communities newly isolated from the world will endure for years.

Clearly though, the reconstruction phase of the effort will be much more difficult. Building a consensus that includes national, provincial and local governments as well as international donors has proven to be tough. The conflict between the government of Indonesia and the insurgents of the Free Aceh Movement was muted by the disaster but much now depends on talks now underway in Helsinki. The two sides have some way to go before an agreement is reached but the resolution of the decades-old conflict is essential to the success of the reconstruction effort.

Despite some mixed signals from government representatives, the international community continues to be heavily involved in the reconstruction effort and is likely to remain involved for some years. The Indonesian government has completed a blueprint for reconstruction. However there is a perception that efforts have stalled due to the complex nature of the issues involved.

The tsunami literally swept many other issues from the front pages. The fight against corruption continues to be a high profile commitment of the president and his government. Some high profile arrests were made in this quarter but how the charges are prosecuted will be telling. Another important issue that had received little attention, but will have a real effect on future governance reform, is the impending direct election of hundreds of provincial and local executives. For the first time, provincial governors and city mayors will be elected by popular vote, potentially eliminating another bastion of the cronyism and corruption that characterized the Suharto era.

Just before the end of the quarter, another devastating earthquake hit the island of Nias in North Sumatra province, killing and injuring thousands more and pointing to the fact that the region is still seismically unstable in the wake of the December 26th earthquake. Volcanic activity as far East as Java has seen an upturn in recent weeks. To be sure, Indonesia is still a country with

many problems, natural and otherwise, but it is still a more hopeful place than it was just a year ago.

B. Program Objectives

To support the development of transparent, accountable and inclusive electoral and political processes that will enable Indonesians to choose their new representatives and national leaders and provide for the peaceful and effective transfer of political power. NDI is conducting a program to achieve the following objectives:

1. Impartial and Effective Electoral Administration
 - a) Assist election officials, legislators and executive branch officials with revising political laws to establish an electoral framework that promotes increased accountability, inclusiveness, transparency and participation in elections.
2. Transparent and Peaceful Electoral Processes and Political Discourse
 - a) Support political parties in establishing democratic internal structures, procedures and programs to advance long-term institutional stability and inclusiveness.
 - b) Assist political parties to conduct peaceful and issue-based campaigns.
 - c) Support civil society groups to independently verify election results, to deter error and fraud, to improve voter confidence and thus reduce the potential for violence.
3. Peaceful Political Transition under an Amended Constitution
 - a) Increase the capacity of the new bicameral national legislature to support newly elected officials.
 - b) Increase the capacity of local legislative associations to provide services to newly elected local legislatures.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

A. Electoral and Political Law Reform Program

All activities under this section are complete.

B. Elections-Related Political Party Development

Party Conventions

During this quarter, NDI tracked the beginning of a series of party conventions slated for 2005. During these events, many of which include leadership selection processes, NDI documented changes in policy and/or leadership at its various levels. In GOLKAR, there was a very fractious change in leadership from Akbar Tandjung to that of Vice-President Jusuf Kalla. In PDI-Perjuangan, former President Megawati Soekarnoputri maintained her leadership position having refused to run again if she was not assured of it. Beyond the most public faces of parties, there

were some significant shifts in leadership at the deputy and department levels. Where there are new openings for reform efforts, NDI is ready to engage these new players.

In response to materials on convention processes, particularly policy development and leadership selection distributed by NDI in the previous quarter, NDI has received a number of formal and informal communications of appreciation as well as a request from Partai Bintang Reformasi (PBR) to provide additional expert input at their convention in the upcoming quarter.

Convention tracking will continue.

Women's Participation

National Council of State Legislatures event for women

In conjunction with NDI's Governance team, NDI's Women's Participation team tagged one event specifically for women during the consultations and training with the National Council of State Legislatures (NCSL). Bringing together over 20 women members from the DPR and DPD as well as staff from ADKASI and ADEKSI, this session focused on practical mechanisms for organization and advocacy through women's political caucuses. The event drew upon the expertise of Diane Winston, of the House of Representatives in Louisiana and NCSL's long-time staff person, Corina Eckl. Through an overview of the various structures and activities of the many women's caucuses in state legislatures across the US, as well as Representative Winston's direct experience with leadership of her state's women's caucus, the group explored ways in which to advance women's political leadership more effectively in Indonesia.

In particular the session focused on the importance of any women's caucus having:

- a limited number of achievable goals,
- financial and staff support to deliver these goals, and
- clear lines of communication between members of the caucus as well as with other women's caucuses and organizations

A commitment was reached at this gathering to coordinate efforts between the DPD and DPR women's caucuses and particularly to reactivate the organization of the women's caucus at the DPR level. NDI continues to support those efforts.

Cooperation with the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus (KPPI)

On March 12, 2005, KPPI held its national gathering to elect a new leadership. In advance of that meeting, which brought together the core leadership from across KPPI's 22 provincial and 20 city/regional branches, NDI met with the out-going executive to continue developing concepts for future events, training, organizational development initiatives and membership expansion. In particular, NDI and KPPI are seeking additional funds for training, technical assistance and subgrant opportunities to build on KPPI's advocacy and skills-building efforts. This cooperation will continue under the new leadership of KPPI's in-coming chair, Gefarina Djohan (PKB). Other executive positions are currently being formally delineated and KPPI is

moving its office from an area attached to the out-going chair's travel agency to a modest but separate location.

KPPI is in the final phases of constructing a database detailing information on all the women candidates for the national legislature in the April 2004 elections. NDI hopes to expand that information to include all women candidates who ran in those elections, (i.e. the provincial and district levels).

C. Parallel Vote Tabulation

While most of the activities in this program area were completed during the last quarter, the Institute continued to monitor the development of the legal framework for provincial and district executive elections and to disseminate information to NDI partners such as Indonesian NGOs, the Partnership for Governance Reform, the UNDP and other donors.

D. Peaceful Political Transition under an Amended Constitution

D.1. Strengthening Local Legislatures

Consultation with Local Government Associations

The earthquake and tsunami that occurred on December 26, 2004 in Aceh and North Sumatra claimed more than 150,000 lives and left thousands of others injured and homeless. The president declared it a national disaster. The disaster affected economic, social and political life including government sectors. Many Government office buildings were severely damaged or completely destroyed.

Local government activity in many cities and districts was severely cut back due to loss of personnel and infrastructure. Both associations have assessed the damage to their members and have begun to assist with recovery.

In addition to tsunami related issues, the associations have continued to work on other issues of importance to their members. Long-awaited regulations on the direct election of mayors, regents and governors came alongside some financial regulations that directly affect the leadership and members of DPRD's across Indonesia. The associations have hosted discussions on the regulations and have begun to help their members understand the implications.

Both associations will face bigger challenges in providing services to their members in the future. NDI's support to ADEKSI and ADKASI during this quarter included organizational development assistance focusing on organizational sustainability and program development, emphasizing local legislature capacity building that will assist the legislators become more accountable and relevant to their constituents.

Assistance for ADEKSI

During this reporting period NDI continued to support ADEKSI as they developed programs targeting local women councillors and development of communication and information services through newsletter distribution and website maintenance. Other programs and activities were related to following up on previous programs and activities in organizational and staff development.

- ***Organizational Development.*** NDI staff met with ADEKSI staff on a regular basis to plan and refine joint programs. The association's board continues to welcome NDI's continued support and technical assistance to both the National Secretariat and DPRD members. Members expected NDI training in capacity building including constituent relations, relationships between executive and legislative branches, and the role of political parties in legislative institutions (DPRD). They further anticipated NDI support with comparative information on issues of regional autonomy and specific local issues such as the prevention of HIV/AIDS.
- ***Support for ADEKSI newsletter and website:*** ADEKSI has completed and distributed the last edition of their newsletter. This edition highlighted the process and results of the MUNAS. Like previous editions, the latest was distributed to members of DPRD Kota and at ADEKSI events including the national working meeting. ADEKSI lost its IT officer this quarter and consequently the website has not been updated. NDI will continue to give advice and technical assistance to ADEKSI in developing its newsletter and website as a tool to communicate and service its members.
- ***Support and Technical Assistance to Development of a Women Local Legislators Program*** During this reporting period, NDI has approved a no-cost extension of the sub-grant to ADEKSI. This extension agreement supported a capacity building workshop targeting women local legislators. This workshop was part of NDI support and technical assistance to women local legislators' development programs. The workshop replaced the previous proposed program of developing a manual for women local legislators. The workshop entitled "Towards Legislation Products with Gender Perspective" was successfully conducted on February 25-27. Around 60 women legislators from DPRD Kota actively participated in the workshop. The workshop met the objectives of participant understanding and practical knowledge on gender perspectives in DPRD functions in legislation

In addition, NDI's women's participation team continued to meet with staff from both associations regarding their women's political participation programs. By providing feedback, trainers and resources for training seminars as well as strategic advice on training materials, NDI has enhanced these organizations' abilities to assess and respond to the needs expressed by their female members.

The development of a database of women local legislators from 89 ADEKSI members is still in the progress. The database will enable the associations to provide more needs-based programming to women members, enable them to foster networks among women to address a wide variety of capacity building issues and find solutions to common problems affecting women, families and communities throughout Indonesia. NDI will continue to assist ADKASI in developing databases of its members.

ADEKSI continues to provide two pages of its newsletter for articles on gender issues. In the latest edition, ADEKSI included a three-page article examining the implications of draft local legislation intended to protect women but which instead could be an instrument of oppression. The draft issued by DPRD Province of West Sumatra prohibits women to be outside of the home from 10 pm to 4 am, except with a relative and/or doing activities protected by laws.

Assistance for ADKASI

The institute's support to ADKASI this quarter included activities such as the development of programs targeting local women councillors, organizational development, staff development training, and development of communication and information services through newsletter and website maintenance. In addition to planned activities, NDI responded to a request from ADKASI to assist with a needs assessment of its member councils in the areas of Aceh worst hit by the tsunami.

- ***Organizational Development.*** In preparation for ADKASI's national congress (MUNAS), NDI assisted with a small workshop to discuss draft revisions to ADKASI's constitution and rules of procedure, as well as their strategic planning documents. While significant progress was made with secretariat staff in preparing for the congress, the MUNAS was not held during this reporting period due to decisions by the board of directors.
- ***Support and Technical Assistance for Newsletter and Website.*** The newsletter for this reporting period is being finalized at the time of writing. In response to advice from NDI, this newsletter is designed as an introduction of ADKASI for new members of councils throughout Indonesia. NDI gave assistance in designing the newsletter and also contributed information on budgeting, subscription systems in other local government associations and tips to be a connected legislator. In this edition, ADKASI will share previous trainings and technical assistance for members that have been successfully delivered. ADKASI will use this edition as an opportunity to communicate about available trainings and technical assistance for members and to make members aware of the value of paying subscription fees for better services.
- ***Support and Technical Assistance to Development of a Women Local Legislators Program.*** Similar to NDI's support to ADEKSI, NDI supports and provides technical assistance to ADKASI to develop the skills of women in local legislatures. The support has included salary assistance for the gender program officer, development of a women

local legislators database, development of gender issues in the newsletter, and program development for women local legislators.

The development of the database is still in progress. The database will enable the association to provide more needs-based programming to women members and enable them to foster networks among women to address a wide variety of capacity building issues as well as to find solutions to common problems affecting women, families and communities throughout Indonesia. NDI will continue to assist ADKASI in developing databases of its members.

During this quarter, the women's section of ADKASI continued to communicate with women members in order to arrange programs based on women members' needs. Currently ADKASI plans to conduct a workshop on capacity building for women legislators as politicians that will include topics such as self-confidence, communication with constituents, networking, and management of forums or meetings. NDI continues to give technical assistance in designing the workshop.

- **Support for Staff development.** NDI plans to conduct media trainings for both ADEKSI and ADKASI staff. The purpose of the session is to improve staff members' communications skills, which will assist them in member outreach.

Aceh Assessment – Following a request from ADKASI, NDI provided funding for technical assistance to the association as it conducted a needs assessment of its members in the six hardest districts in the province of Aceh. The ADKASI/NDI team traveled to Aceh in early February and spent a week meeting with DPRD leadership, members and staff as well as regents, provincial and national government staff. The team liaised with international donors, including USAID and the United Nations and briefed government of Indonesia representatives before departing.

As ADEKSI and ADKASI continue to mature as organizations, both have been able to start offering programs to its member councils on a cost-recovery basis. They have also successfully attracted 3rd party funding from other donors. The organizations, however, face bigger challenges in fulfilling members' needs and still seek the technical assistance of NDI to help in the design and structure of programming. During this period, NDI provided technical assistance to ADEKSI and ADKASI in the design and implementation of the following activities:

- a. ADEKSI and ADKASI both took the opportunity to learn about developing and maintaining a legislative association from a team from the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL). The visit was funded by the Public Diplomacy branch of the State Department and planned jointly by NCSL and NDI. In general, NCSL underlined the important value of associations for their members, including the provision of providing up-to-date and accurate information, orientation and training, networking, advocacy, lobbying and consultations. NDI will continue to assist ADEKSI and ADKASI in connecting with NCSL to learn more valuable lessons for the development of the associations in Indonesia.

- b. ADEKSI conducted a National Working Meeting on February 17-19, 2005 in Batam City. At this event, ADEKSI agreed to focus on advocacy programs for this year. ADEKSI will establish a team to study and analyze the government regulations that deal with financial rights and also to establish an advocacy team. In this event, NDI participated in discussions regarding ADEKSI's upcoming training and development plan and met with ADEKSI's new board members to discuss future partnerships that will include a training program pilot on constituency outreach and media relations.
- c. Related to the tsunami in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam, NDI encouraged encourage both Associations to respond to the needs of their members in Aceh in more systematic ways and to assist DPRD's to get up and running again. Following the above mentioned needs assessment in Aceh last February, ADKASI delivered and giving technical assistance for DPRD Aceh Besar in planning the legislative budget on March 14-18.

NDI also prepared a short note on how DPRD members can access the DPRD budget for capacity building or training programs. This note highlights the legal framework of the DPRD budget and proposes several technical tips for the members to access the budget to support their duties. This is an important issue since most of the members are not aware of this important budget tool. NDI shared this note with ADEKSI and ADKASI in an effort to help them encourage their members to promote transparency and enhance their capacity in conducting their duties.

Assistance for ADKASI in the Development of Training/Capacity Building Programs

ADKASI's facilitator team consisting of the alumni of last year's training of facilitators continue to develop and deliver capacity building programs for ADKASI members. These programs are in-house trainings on budgeting and direct technical assistance on DPRD budget planning conducted in several DPRD Kabupaten members of ADKASI, such as DPRD Kabupaten Timor Tengah Selatan, Kabupaten Lingga, Kabupaten Semarang, Kabupaten Aceh Besar and Manggarai Barat.

D.2. Legislative Strengthening

Developing the skills of legislators and their staff – In January, NDI collaborated with the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) to produce a number of consultations and training sessions for DPR and DPD members. NCSL sent a team of three veteran state legislators and two staff members for a two-week mission to Indonesia funded by the Department of State. NDI provided the team with a packed agenda of training sessions and consultations as well as staff support. The two organizations collaborated on the design and implementation of the workshops. The reaction from legislators and their staff was overwhelmingly positive. Follow-up training sessions that were requested during the NCSL workshops and consultations are being planned for April and May.

Improving Communication and Cooperation for Programming with the DPR

Communicating with DPR and DPD members is often difficult for Indonesian citizens, since no standardized contact database has been developed. This situation has often created challenges for NDI as well, since internal mail distribution in the DPR is slow and undependable. During this quarter, NDI developed a comprehensive database of all DPR and DPD members that identifies committee assignments, interest in various policy and DPR development issues, language skills, educational background and participation in past NDI activities. We have also collected the cellular phone numbers of over 30% of DPR members and have started to use an SMS server to communicate with legislators through bulk SMS messages. This is the most direct way to reach these busy individuals to inform them about upcoming programs. NDI is also able to use the database to communicate directly with fractions of and individual members through electronic fax software.

Building the Skills of DPR Staff

The NDI-NCSL training sessions for DPR political staff in January identified a great demand among DPR political staff for further skills training. During this quarter, NDI met with representatives of the new Association of DPR Personal Assistants to design a training program on media and communication skills for delivery during the DPR recess in April. NDI plans to collaborate with the association to help design and deliver programming in the future.

Civic Info Fair on Earthquake and Tsunami Relief in the DPR

During this period, NDI negotiated with the DPR Tsunami Monitoring Committee to design a Civic Information Fair to showcase the efforts of domestic and international NGOs and groups working to help in the recovery and rebuilding effort. The event, now scheduled for May 15-18, will facilitate an information exchange for legislators to better appreciate the work being done by so many to help respond to this unprecedented tragedy. It is also hoped that important policy discussions regarding many important issues such as public involvement in planning, education reform, and land use and disaster management will also be discussed, providing useful contacts for both legislators and the public alike. The event will also be an important opportunity to position the DPR as an open, inclusive institution where important public policy dialogues take place. NDI will work with the Tsunami Committee and the HUMAS to develop and implement a media and communications strategy to encourage wide media interest in the event.

NDI also facilitated a meeting between Dr. Harry Azhar Aziz, Chairman of the DPR Tsunami Monitoring Team Subcommittee on Financial Oversight with Lucky Djani, Deputy Director of Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) to help each party to understand the potential value of closer collaboration. The two exchanged information about their respective work in Aceh and Dr. Aziz was happy to know that the DPR could access alternate sources of information on financial disbursements in Aceh relief rather than depending solely on the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS).

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

A. Elections-Related Political Party Development

After the gathering with the NCSL and NDI in early January, the women's parliamentary caucus – which had yet to formally meet since the April 2004 elections – gathered women MPs in a formal meeting to reactivate itself as a caucus and elect a new leadership. As raised at the NDI-NCSL consultation, this DPR-based caucus met with the DPD caucus and agreed to formally work together to increase advocacy efforts in the two houses.

NDI received positive feedback from a participant in one of NDI's other programs, the Bird's Head orientation training (funded by USAID under the Global Development Alliance), from DPRD Kabupaten Sorong (Jeffrey A. Reimas from PDI-P) and one of the board members of ADEKSI (Babay Suhaimi, Golkar, DPRD Kota Bekasi) and one ADEKSI member (from Leadership of DPRD Kota Tomohon, from Golkar) that are NDI Political Leadership Academy (PLA) alumni. They expressed the importance of the PLA helping them advance within their parties, win the election and assume strategic positions in DPRDs and within their parties.

B. Parallel Vote Tabulation

The Institute continues to receive requests from provincial and local election commissions (KPUD) for election monitoring assistance. The success of last year's Quick Counts conducted by NDI's partner LP3ES has led some election officials to conclude that the same kind of election monitoring is necessary at the local level because it actually builds public confidence in the electoral system and helps to deflect criticism from political parties and candidates. This points to the fact that an election commission that is doing its job properly ought to have nothing to fear from election monitoring conducted using proper methodology.

A participant in the Bird's Head Orientation Training, from DPRD Kabupaten Sorong, expressed gratitude to NDI for doing a Quick Count last year. He said that the PVT played an important role in making the election in Indonesia peaceful and without riots.

C. Peaceful Political Transition under an Amended Constitution

C.1 Assisting local legislatures: In general, both Associations have developed their capacity in terms of programming, providing services to their members, resource mobilization, and in building their image. ADEKSI has conducted its fourth National Working Meeting as a point to start delivering services to members as they have agreed in strategic planning sessions. ADKASI has developed its strategic plan that will be endorsed during its MUNAS in May. Both Associations have been able to develop and deliver services to their members, *and*

funded by the members, such as trainings, workshops and advocacy programs. Both groups have also been able to increase contributions from their members. ADEKSI has also diversified its sources of funding. Many of their programs have received significant media coverage.

- Both associations have established women's sections and have been able to develop gender programs and activities to address the needs of women local legislators such as gender articles in their newsletters, a women local legislators database, and conducting trainings and workshops. Both associations also have connected directly with women members and taken feedback for better services. Both associations have made a commitment to improve and develop services to women members.
- ADKASI has made significant progress in delivering services in capacity building and technical assistance for members. A team of facilitators from ADKASI is ready to conduct trainings and give technical assistance needed by members anytime. The team is also willing to get involved in ADKASI's organization development.

C.2 Legislative Strengthening

- Ibu Nursyabani, a legislator from PKB, has indicated that following the NDI-sponsored multi-faction discussion on DPR reform in December, she decided to investigate amending the law on state finances (UU17-2003) to provide for the independence of the DPR operating budget from the Executive. She has asked NDI for assistance on this issue. She expects that this will be dealt with in the next session of the DPR.
- Members of the BURT have requested the DPR Secretariat to provide more detailed information on the DPR Operating Budget so that they can better understand the allocation of funding among administrative and support services.
- The Secretary General of the DPR has asked NDI to consider working with the Honor Council to help amend the Code of Ethics of the DPR and to help the Committee to improve its procedures